

Reading Course
In American & British
News Publications
美英报刊阅读教程

端木义万 编 著

南京大学出版社



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内 容 提 要

本书从美、英近期主要新闻刊物中精选文章 40 篇，以专题为线，分为 10 个单元。在选材方面注重内容新颖、语言活泼、时效较长，在编写方面注重外刊阅读能力的培养。每课配有四个栏目：I. 知识介绍；II. 难点注释；III. 语言简说；IV. 问题思考。“知识介绍”栏目为读者提供与课文有关的美、英社会文化背景。“语言简说”栏目联系课文介绍现代新闻英语特点。

本书主要对象是大学英语学生及其他中高级英语水平读者。

美 英 报 刊 阅 读 教 程

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序 言

陈毅同志说过：学习外文，要精读、广看、多写，尤其需要的是精读、广读外文报刊。这本《美英报刊阅读教程》正是一本指导外刊阅读的好教材。这本书是编者长期以来运用新闻学、语言学和社会学对新闻英语所作的跨学科研究的成果，具有以下四个鲜明的特色：选材内容广泛，知识介绍系统，语言注释精当，突出能力培养。

直到今天我国外刊教材基本上是以新闻事件为线，而这本书独辟蹊径，采用以专题为线的作法。它的题材并不局限于时政内容，还涉及到社会、经济、文化、生活各个方面。编者在选材上十分精心，书中所收文章体裁多样，内容典型，语言丰富，趣味较强，时效较长。这些材料对于学习和掌握现代英语十分有利。

这本书的编写风格新颖独特。每篇课文后不仅保留其他外刊教材所共有的“难点注释”和“问题思考”项目，而且配有“知识介绍”和“语言简说”项目。

“知识介绍”项目很有特点。作者系统精练地介绍了与文章相关的社会文化知识。譬如：在题为“Coverage Denied”（拒绝提供保险）一文的“知识介绍”项目里，作者系统清晰地介绍了美国现行的医疗保险体制，长期以来医疗费用猛涨的形势，保险公司保护自身利益的措施以及投保人与保险公司之间的冲突。这类知识介绍有助于加深课文的理解，同时还可以扩大读者的知识面，减少因背景知识缺乏而造成的新闻报导阅读的困难。

“语言简说”项目融入了编者多年来在新闻英语方面所积累的丰富知识。这本书将报刊语言分成若干细目，联系每篇文章语言具体特点分别加以介绍，涉及标题、篇章、用词、句法、修辞和文体各个方面。例如在“New Age Layoffs”一文中有个成语：“like old wine in new bottles”，编者不仅说明原文作者在这里活用习语“new wine in old bottles”（旧瓶装新酒，旧形式不适合新内容），表示“新瓶装陈酒，新旧融合”的意思，而且在“语言简说”项目里联系这点介绍了美、英报刊中常见的四种习语活用形式：节缩、扩展、套用和拆用。这些语言知识为读者提高阅读外刊的水平设了“一架梯”。

这本书的“难点注释”项目语言精当，释义准确。在一篇描述海湾战争胜利所带来的美国民众情绪振奋的文章中有这么一句：“Hello, Kuwait. Goodbye, Vietnam”。编者注释时能透过表面抓出深层意思，译为：“欢迎你呀，海湾战争胜利的喜讯！见鬼去吧，越战失败的耻辱！”，并且指出原文作者运用了“借代”修辞格来生动有力地抒发出美国民众的兴奋情感。

我在《翻译对话录》中讲过一个笑话：“从前有个士兵中了毒箭，去找外科医生。医生只把箭杆切断，说取出箭头是内科的事。”我看，如果把上面提到的“Goodbye”只解释成“再见”，那就有点象这位“外科医生”，而解释为“见鬼去吧”，则说明编者是个内行高手了。

总而言之，这本教材是观察西方社会的一个窗口，阅读英语报刊的一本指南，学习现代英语的一件好工具。

许渊冲

一九九四年一月

于北京大学

目 录

第一单元 地理·环境

1. Uncle Sam's Islands	1
知识介绍: 美国管辖岛屿	5
语言简说: 新闻英语总体特色	7
2. The Wild West's Legacy of Shame	8
知识介绍: 美国西进历史	11
语言简说: 拼缀词	12
3. A Lot of Rubbish	14
知识介绍: 美国环境保护	16
语言简说: 前置定语	17
4. Mystery—and Maybe Danger—in the Air	19
知识介绍: 美国大众传媒	21
语言简说: 官方英语	23

第二单元 文教·医疗

5. Doctor's AIDS Death Renews Debate on Who Should Know	25
知识介绍: 美国艾滋病简况	28
语言简说: 《纽约时报》特色	29
6. Crisis in the Science Classroom	31
知识介绍: 美国教育问题	34
语言简说: 标题时态	36
7. Coverage Denied	38
知识介绍: 美国医疗保险	40
语言简说: 标题句法	43
8. Wheel of Misfortune	46
知识介绍: 美国广播电视	47
语言简说: 标题常用修辞手段	49

第三单元 经济生产

9. New Age Layoffs	51
知识介绍: 美国经济衰退	54
语言简说: 习语活用	56

10. A Severe Case of Taxophobia	58
知识介绍: 美国纳税情况	59
语言简说: 术语泛用	62
11. Let's Give Pearl Harbor a Rest	64
知识介绍: 美日贸易冲突	66
语言简说: 活跃词缀	67
12. The Weather's Too Damn Nice	69
知识介绍: 美国农业问题	70
语言简说: 派生构词	72

第四单元 生活风尚

13. Get What You Want Out of Life	74
知识介绍: 《读者文摘》简介	77
语言简说: 《读者文摘》语言特色	79
14. The Simple Life Comes Back	80
知识介绍: 节俭、勤奋价值观	83
语言简说: 表达“说”的句式	86
15. The Decline of Neatness	88
知识介绍: 《时代周刊》简介	90
语言简说: 杂文语言特色	92

第五单元 政治体制

16. Are Cities Obsolete?	93
知识介绍: 美国城市贫困化	96
语言简说: 逆生构词	98
17. Why Congress Doesn't Work?	100
知识介绍: 美国国会简介	103
语言简说: 报刊译文常见错误	107
18. A Senator's Double Life	109
知识介绍: 国会议员道德问题	111
语言简说: “说”意动词	114
19. A Ground War Begins	117
知识介绍: 美国总统选举	119
语言简说: 常用俚语	121

第六单元 社会关系

20. The Killing of Carol Stuart	123
知识介绍: 英国报刊简介	124
语言简说: 新闻报导篇章结构	126

21. Bigots in the Ivory Tower	128
知识介绍: 美国种族问题	130
语言简说: 综合报道篇章结构	133
22. Do the Elderly Want to Work?	135
知识介绍: 美国退休问题	137
语言简说: 词组+er 构词	139
23. The Future of Abortion	141
知识介绍: 美国妇女堕胎问题	143
语言简说: 新闻报导引语	144
24. Beyond Thrift and Loyalty	146
知识介绍: 美国童子军简况	149
语言简说: 类比构词	151

第七单元 社会问题

25. Homeless, U. S. A.	153
知识介绍: 美国住房问题	157
语言简说: 名词定语	159
26. Gambling on a Roll	161
知识介绍: 美国赌博业	163
语言简说: 复合构词	165
27. Should Drugs Be Legalized?	167
知识介绍: 美国吸毒问题	170
语言简说: 称号、职务前置	173
28. Cops under Fire	175
知识介绍: 《美国新闻与世界报道》简介	178
语言简说: 生动新闻报导	181

第八单元 科技军事

29. Electronic Mail	183
知识介绍: 电子邮件	184
语言简说: 新闻英语常用典故	187
30. The New Nuclear Age	189
知识介绍: 美苏核军备	191
语言简说: 核军备有关术语	193
31. An Officer, Not a Gentleman	195
知识介绍: 美国军队性歧视	196
语言简说: 短词的使用	199
32. The Open Barn Door	201
知识介绍: 《新闻周刊》简介	203

语言简说: 新闻报导用喻特点	207
----------------------	-----

第九单元 观念心理

33. A Nation of Finger Pointers	208
知识介绍: 个体主义价值观	210
语言简说: 新闻报导常用借词	213
34. Exorcising an Old Demon	214
知识介绍: 美国侵越战争	216
语言简说: “to the extent that”小议	219
35. The War over ‘Family Values’	220
知识介绍: 美国家庭结构	222
语言简说: 词性转化构词	225
36. Reuniting the Flock	227
知识介绍: 美国宗教简况	229
语言简说: 新闻标题的结构	232

第十单元 其他国家

37. A Royal Pain for the Crown	234
知识介绍: 英国王室体制	236
语言简说: 新闻英语的借代	240
38. What Ever Happened to the Population Explosion?	242
知识介绍: 世界人口形势	244
语言简说: 新闻报导句式特点	246
39. Farms under the Gun	248
知识介绍: 澳大利亚简况	250
语言简说: 新闻英语的缩略词	253
40. A House in Two Parts	255
知识介绍: 加拿大“魁北克”问题	257
语言简说: 常用法语借词	260

References	262
-------------------------	-----

后 记	263
-----------	-----

1

Uncle Sam's Islands

Dotted across the Caribbean and the Pacific — and indeed the American mainland — are the islands of an empire on which the dollar never sets^①

AMERICA does not like to think it has colonies, and many of those who live in them wince at the very word. It is seldom used, except in Puerto Rico by people who want their island to be independent, whether from the United States or as part of it. Official language speaks of commonwealths or territories. But facts are facts. Military conquest and strategic need over the past 100 years or so have left America a modest, yet far-flung empire of islands.^② Most have governments and flags of their own, but none is free. And though they are sovereign territory of the United States, and use its currency, neither are they part of it. They have no direct say in its political process. Colonies they are.

Their citizens are a diverse bunch: Caribbean blacks, Latin Americans, Pacific islanders, mainland expatriates, in all a little under 4m people. They live on more than 4,000 square miles of land; from east to west, the United States Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Palmyra, American Samoa, Johnston Atoll, the Midway Islands, Wake Island, the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam. Here and there lie uninhabited outposts: guano-covered Navassa in the Caribbean, Kingman Reef and Jarvis, Howland and Baker Islands in the Pacific. The sun sets but briefly on this American empire, of which most Americans know little.

As empires go, this is a democratic one. The "big five" colonies — Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, Samoa and the Northern Marianas — have locally elected governors and legislators, like those of a fully fledged state. But they are not autonomous. To varying degrees, each possession answers to a branch of the federal government in Washington, DC, and is subject to American laws. All depend on the United States for their economic well-being. Yet none has a direct hand in the mother country's decisions, even when they apply to its own inhabitants. For these, though mostly citizens of the United States (bar some "American nationals" in Samoa), cannot vote for its president.^③ All they elect to Washington is, for each territory, a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives;^④ the Northern Marianas, by their own choice, do not even do that.

Contented colonials

Arguing over what relations with America should be is consequently something of a national sport in its territories.^⑤ In general, there is no great clamour for radical change, just a call for more autonomy and for the occasional exemption from some especially inappropriate American law. Except in Puerto Rico, progress to full statehood is accepted as an unrealistic aim. Independence movements, where they exist at all, find little local support, Puerto Rico's main pro-independence party gets only about 6% of the vote in elections for governor, though

its leader, Mr Ruben Berrios Martinez, is one of the island's most dynamic politicians. ^⑥

Resentment against Washington's occasional high-handedness is more than offset by the benefits it provides. ^⑦ And it gives more than it takes. Uncle Sam, doubtless mindful of what happened to George III, ^⑧ does not claim federal income tax from residents of the territories, thus allowing the local authorities to claim the revenue. In some cases Washington provides grants for these local governments. Yet the colonials can claim many of the personal benefits on offer to taxpaying citizens in the 50 states.

Harder to put figures on, but no less palpable, is the economic benefit of being American. Virgin Islanders thrive on tourism from the mainland United States. Puerto Rico has recently had a higher annual growth rate than the mainland, thanks in part to investment in the island by American companies attracted to it by its combination of tax breaks ^⑨ and political stability. It is unlikely that independence would have brought any of America's possessions to their present economic level. The Virgin Islands' GNP per head (\$ 9,750 in 1986) is four times that of independent Antigua and Barbuda ^⑩ nearby.

The rights of American citizenship include the right to live and work on the mainland. More than 2m Puerto Ricans live in the United States proper, notably in New York. So, mainly in Hawaii, California and Washington state, do around 85,000 Samoans — more than twice the population of American Samoa itself.

Here, not least for the use of Americans, is a brief gazetteer of their empire. ^⑪

Populous Puerto Rico

The "shining star of the Caribbean" has, on the face of it, the least excuse for being a colony. ^⑫ Surrounded by former European colonies now independent, Puerto Rico is the fourth largest island in the Caribbean, with a population of some 3.3m and a 1987 GNP of \$ 18½ billion. Columbus landed here in 1493, and for 400 years it was a colony of Spain. Its history is evident throughout the island, from the splendid Spanish-colonial governor's mansion, La Fortaleza, in San Juan, ^⑬ to the shanties in the mountains. English is an official language, but in practice comes a distant second behind the other one, Spanish.

Yet Puerto Rico is American, and generally proud of it. It became an American colony in 1898 after the Spanish-American war. Its people became American citizens in 1917, and the territory was given "common wealth" status ^⑭ in 1952. Since then it has seen a vigorous but sometimes debilitating debate over the next step; whether to stick with this ill-defined, quasi-autonomous status, to become a full state or to go independent. Were it to become the 51st of the United States, Puerto Rico would rank 28th among them by population, but 51st in wealth; its income per head is only two-thirds that of Mississippi, America's poorest state today.

Various Virgins

Step out of the airport terminal and you will swiftly see that the United States Virgin Islands are not like anywhere in America; your taxi is driving on the left. The Danes, from whom the United States bought the islands in 1917 for \$ 25m, to protect the Panama Canal from German submarines, drive on the right themselves, but succumbed to the influence of the British Caribbean. That tradition lives on, even though the cars obeying it are American

ones, built the wrong way round.

A mile, at the nearest point, from the sleepy British Virgin Islands, the territory consists of about 50 small islands and three larger ones, at the northernmost sweep of the Lesser Antilles.^⑩ The bigger islands — St Thomas, St Croix and St John^⑪ — are home to about 106,000 people, 80% of them black and manifestly West Indian black. Two-thirds of St John is a breathtakingly lovely national park; St Thomas and St Croix, also beautiful, are daiquiri-fuelled, yacht-clogged playgrounds for wealthy Americans.

The islands have next to no natural resources beyond their beauty and climate. But these are enough; more than 1.7m visitors come each year, many on cruise ships. They spend about \$620 million — half the islands' \$1.25 billion gross territorial product.

Sleepy Samoa

Across the Pacific, the citizens of America's only sizeable possession in the southern hemisphere are in no hurry for change. The last look American Samoa took at relations with the mother country was conducted by a "Second Temporary Future Political Status Commission."^⑫ It reported, in 1979, that the way ahead was to take another look in 10—15 years' time.

American Samoans are equally relaxed in their approach to democracy. It took three plebiscites to get them to agree that the territory should have an elected governor. Their legislature's upper house is appointed by village elders. Traditional garb is the norm^⑬, even among the most westernised Samoans. Existence is dominated by "Fa'a Samoa", a concept that literally means the Samoan way of life but that can be more usefully translated as that which mystifies outsiders.

The result is that American Samoa is the least assimilated of all the United States' colonies, and possibly the poorest — facts which, by and large, do not much bother its inhabitants. The colony's government is the largest employer, with 38% of the officially recorded labor force, followed by two tuna canneries with 37%. Estimated income per head is only \$1,850 — which is still 3½ times that of independent Western Samoa, 80 miles to the west.

Grumbling Guam

The largest and most southerly island of the Mariana archipelago, Guam is the most populous American possession in the Pacific, with about 130,000 people crowded on to its 210 square miles. A bit over 40% of them are native Chamorros, the rest Filipinos, other Asians and mainland Americans. Guam, once a Spanish colony, bills itself as the place "where America's day begins". In fact, it doesn't; tiny Wake Island, just to the west of the international date line sees the dawn a good hour earlier. Guam's sense of its place in the imperial sun is equally uncertain.^⑭

Guamanians are proud to be American, and have little interest in becoming independent. But they are not content either with their current relations with the United States, which resemble those of the Virgin Islands. Among the issues that rankle is Guam's inclusion in the protectionist Jones act, which requires that American ships be used between American ports. To islanders who live 3,700 miles west of Hawaii this seems inappropriate, for all its sixteenth-century Spanish imperial precedents.

In 1987 the islanders voted to ask the federal government to give their territory more autonomy and make it a commonwealth much like Puerto Rico. A bill to that effect has been introduced in Congress. But it is unlikely to make speedy headway, in part because the Guamanians ignored Washington's instructions to negotiate the matter first and vote later.

Much-disputed Marianas[®]

Few Americans have ever heard of the Northern Mariana Islands. Plenty of Japanese have. Of 230,000 tourists in 1987, most came from Japan. There are many more today; the 16-island archipelago offers the nearest sun-drenched beaches to Tokyo, 1,400 miles to the north.

The Northern Marianas have had a long colonial history. The Spanish held them for 300 years until Germany took over in 1898 (when Guam was split off to become American). After the first world war the League of Nations entrusted the islands to Japan, which in turn lost them after fierce fighting in the second world war; one of them, Saipan, is home to Suicide Cliff, where thousands of Japanese soldiers and civilians killed themselves in 1945. The islands then became an American trust territory.[®]

Most of America's Pacific trust territories have by now gone their own way into independence (under America's wing, of course). The Northern Marianas, in contrast, asked to join America's empire, being accepted by Congress as a commonwealth in 1976. They got a good deal. Their covenant grants them various exemptions from American legislation, notably the Jones act and laws on immigration and minimum wages.[®] Washington also gives the islands about \$ 33m a year for development, for running the government and so on.

Democracy, DC

Beyond the "big five", America's empire consists of a variety of sparsely populated outcrops, most of which are military bases. Wake is run by the air force; the Midway Islands and Kingman Reef by the navy; Johnston Atoll by the Defence Nuclear Agency. Palmyra,[®] 1,000 miles south of Hawaii, is privately owned.

Two other dots on the map deserve mention, Palau,[®] in the Pacific, is the sole remaining trust territory handed to America by the United Nations. It will become independent — in "free association" with America — when 75% of its people agree to America's terms, which, in several votes, they have so far refused to do.

And then there is the District of Columbia.[®] The home of America's federal administration and legislature enjoys only slightly greater democratic rights than do Uncle Sam's other possessions. Its 620,000 residents murder each other with much greater freedom than, say, the backward Samoans, and can even vote for the federal president (and pay federal taxes). But they still have only a non-voting delegate in Congress. Whenever the district gets uppity, as over abortion, or has other problems, such as its drug wars, Congress gets imperial and flexes its muscles.[®]

The Economist, May 6, 1989

I. 知识介绍

美国管辖岛屿

美国除北美大陆版图之外在加勒比海和太平洋还管辖一些岛屿。

一、加勒比海主要岛屿：

1. 波多黎各自由联邦(Commonwealth of Puerto Rico)：面积有 8897 平方公里。人口有 330 万，其中 73% 是白人，23% 是印欧混血种人，4% 是黑人。多数讲西班牙语，少数讲英语。波多黎各于 1509 年沦为西班牙殖民地。1898 年美西战争爆发后，美军入侵又成为美国殖民地。1952 年美国在波多黎各人民长期斗争压力下宣布波成为“自由联邦”。波名义上可以自行制定宪法、实行自治。但是，美国仍控制其内政、国防、外交、关税等大权。在经济方面，农业占主要地位，产品有甘蔗，咖啡、烟草、水果等。旅游业很发达。

2. 美属维尔京群岛(The Virgin Islands of the United States)：面积 344 平方公里。人口近 10 万，主要是黑人和黑白混血种人。英语是通用语言。16 世纪先后沦为西班牙、荷兰、英国、法国和丹麦等国的殖民地。由于该群岛战略地位重要，美国于 1917 年用 2500 万美元从丹麦手里买下。岛上居民从 1927 年起成为美国公民，但不能参加美国大选，仅在国会中设有一名无投票权的代表。该群岛在经济方面主要是制糖、养牛、酿酒和水果种植业，旅游业发达。

二、太平洋岛屿：

美国管辖的太平洋岛屿，除夏威夷(美国一个州)以外还有以下主要岛屿：

1. 北马里亚纳群岛(Northern Marianas Islands)：原为美国太平洋岛屿托管地(Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands)的一部分，共有 16 个岛屿。该群岛在第一次世界大战前为德国殖民地。第一次世界大战后由日本委任统治。第二次世界大战后由美国托管。1955 年 6 月 17 日美国在北马里亚纳群岛举行公民投票，单独建立北马里亚纳联邦。1976 年 3 月美国总统福特签署了《北马里亚纳联邦盟约》(Northern Mariana Commonwealth Covenant)。1977 年 10 月美国总统卡特批准“联邦”的宪法，规定从 1978 年 1 月起“联邦”成为美国的联合邦，其地位与波多黎各相当。

2. 关岛(Guam)是美国“未合并的领土”。面积 540 多平方公里。人口 13 万，其中夏莫罗人占 95%。英语为官方语言，本地居民讲夏莫罗语。关岛 1565 年被西班牙占领，1898 年美西战争后又被美国占领，并从马里亚纳群岛中分割出去。1941 年被日本占领，1944 年被美国再次占领。1950 年美国通过法案，给予关岛自治政府地方权力，划归美国内政部管辖。关岛居民属美国公民，但不参加美国选举，在众议院也没有代表。在经济方面，主要生产水果、蔬菜，此外还生产猪肉、牛肉、鱼。旅游业发展很快。关岛是美国在太平洋地区的一个战略空军基地和核潜艇基地。

3. 东萨摩亚(Eastern Samoa)，又称美属萨摩亚(American Samoa)，是美国“未合并的领土”，面积 197 平方公里，人口 3 万多人，主要是萨摩亚人，讲萨摩亚语，英语通用。1722 年荷兰人首先发现这里，法国、英国、德国、美国相继侵入。1899 年正式成为美属殖民地，现由美国内政部管辖。总督是最高行政官，原由美国内政部任命，1976 年公民投票决定选举产生，还未实行。经济方面渔业发达，主要农作物为香蕉、薯类、蔬菜、甘蔗、菠萝等。

4. 威克岛(Wake Island)：战略地位重要，被称为“太平洋的脚踏石”，现由美国空军管辖。

5. 中途岛(Midway Island)：1859 年由美国人发现，1867 年占领，现设有美国海空军基地。

II. 难点注释

1. Dotted across the Caribbean and the Pacific... are the islands of an empire on which the dollar

- never sets. [① Note the use of inverted order in the sentence. The subject of the sentence is "the islands of an empire". ② the islands of an empire on which the dollar never sets (太阳不落、美元通用的岛屿帝国)。这里仿用"Britain was an empire on which the sun never set."]
2. a modest, yet far-flung empire of islands: 面积不太大, 但散布在广阔区域的岛屿帝国
 3. For these, though mostly citizens of the United States (bar some "American nationals" in Samoa), cannot vote for its president. 因为这些人虽然大部分是美国公民(除萨摩亚的一些美国侨民以外), 却无权选举总统。
 4. a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives: 众议院没有投票权的列席代表
 5. Arguing over what relations with America should be is consequently something of national sport in its territories. 争论托管地与美国应保持什么关系就有些象在托管地谈论美国国民运动一样。[意即托管地满足现状, 对此争论不感兴趣。]
 6. one of the island's most dynamic politicians: 这个岛屿上最积极的政治活动家之一
 7. Resentment against Washington's occasional highhandedness is more than offset by the benefits it provides. 他们所获得的利益大大抵消了对美国政府偶尔专横的不满情绪。
 8. Uncle Sam, doubtless mindful of what happened to George III...: ① Uncle Sam refers to the U. S. Government. ② George III (1738—1820) was King of Great Britain and Ireland. He adopted a policy of coercion against the American colonists, imposing heavy taxes on them such as Stamp Act, Sugar Act and Tea Act. That led finally to the American Revolution, which brought about independence from Britain.
 9. tax break: 暂停征税, 休税
 10. Antigua and Barbuda: 安提瓜岛和巴布达岛
 11. Here, not least for the use of Americans, is a brief gazetteer of their empire. 这里特别为美国人提供有关他们岛屿帝国情况的简单介绍。
 12. The "shining star of the Caribbean" has, on the face of it, the least excuse for being a colony. 这颗"加勒比海上的明珠"从表面来看最没有理由成为殖民地。
 13. San Juan: 圣胡安(波多黎各首府)
 14. "commonwealth" status: 这里指波多黎各自由联邦(Commonwealth of Puerto Rico)。美国在1952年迫于波多黎各人民斗争压力宣布波成为"自由联邦", 但实际上仍是殖民地。
 15. the Lesser Antilles: 小安的列斯群岛
 16. St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John: 圣托马斯岛, 圣克罗伊岛, 圣约翰岛
 17. Second Temporary Future Political Status Commission: 第二临时政治地位商讨委员会
 18. Traditional garb is the norm: 人们通常着传统服装。
 19. Guam's sense of its place in the imperial sun is equally uncertain. : 关岛对于自己在帝国中所处的地位同样也不清楚。
 20. Much-disputed Marianas: 兵家必争的马里亚纳群岛
 21. trust territory: 托管地
 22. minimum wages: 法定最低限度工资(美国从1974年起对收入低的工人实行最低工资法)
 23. Kingman Reef: 金曼礁; Johnston Atoll: 约翰斯敦岛; Palmyra: 巴尔米拉岛
 24. Palau: 帕劳群岛
 25. the District of Columbia: 哥伦比亚特区(美国首都华盛顿所在地区。1791年美国国会决定, 从马里兰州和弗吉尼亚州划出一块土地作为首都所在地, 称哥伦比亚特区。从此国会及联邦政府全部机关都设在此。该特区为联邦直辖区, 不属任何州管辖。)
 26. Congress gets imperial and flexes its muscles. 国会就会显出威严, 展示武力。

III. 语言简说

新闻英语总体特色

美英新闻刊物形形色色，同一刊物所登文章也多种多样。不同刊物有不同的语言风格，不同类型的文章也有不同的文体特点。然而新闻刊物虽类别不同，其写作都受共同因素影响；文章虽类型有别，其文体却相互交错。这样便产生了一些共同之处，形成了新闻英语特色。

首先，新闻刊物是大众传播媒介，读者面较宽，其语言必须适应广大读者的阅读水平。大众性是新闻写作的一大制约因素。

其次，西方新闻界十分注重阅读趣味。有的新闻学家称它为“新闻价值(News Values)的试金石”，有的则干脆把它列为新闻价值的一项内容。为了增加报导的趣味性，不仅要求文章的报导内容，而且也要求它所运用的语言能适应读者心理爱好和阅读习惯。

再次，节俭是精炼语言的重要手段，也是出于报刊节约篇幅的实际需要。在广告利润丰厚的西方社会，报界企业十分珍惜版面篇幅。要想在有限的篇幅里报导尽可能多的内容，新闻写作人员就得采取一切手段来浓缩、精炼语言。

上述三个因素，即大众性、趣味性和节俭性促使新闻英语形成了自己的特色，并且孕育出许多文坛名家。

美国语言评论家唐纳德·西尔斯(Donald Sears)和玛格丽特·布兰德(Margaret Bourland)曾对8名成就突出的美国现代小说家加以调查，发现其中有4名是记者出身，即欧内斯特·海明威(Earnest Hemingway)、西奥多·德莱赛(Theodore Dreiser)，斯蒂芬·克兰(Stephen Crane)和约翰·赫西(John Hersy)。他们的小说都明显保留了新闻写作风格。尤其是被誉为“影响着整整一代青年作家”的著名小说家海明威，每当他谈到自己的文学创作生涯时，总要提起《星报》的新闻写作原则，并称它们是“最好的原则”。

然而，同其他类型写作一样，新闻报导也有高低成败之笔。由于写作时间仓促，推敲不够，新闻写作会出现套话较多、句式松散问题；因为一味追求篇幅节俭，会出现过度使用前置定语、名词定语情况；还由于过分强调新颖独特，而产生求奇失实，夸张失度现象。这些问题都会减少文章的简洁性、准确性和生动性。读者在阅读外刊时要注意鉴别，不可盲目吸收。

初读美、英报刊的人往往都感到比较难。之所以如此，主要是因为他们对报刊语言特点了解不够。譬如：新闻标题短小精悍，在句式和用词上都有相应的省略手段。一般新闻报导的篇章结构与散文不同，常采用“倒金字塔”模式，新闻综合报导也有其篇章特点。在句法上新闻报导常用前置定语、名词定语或词性转化等手段来精炼句式。在修辞方面，新闻英语常常使用“借代”、“比喻”或活用成语来加强表达效果。新闻刊物不仅是报导新闻的媒介，而且是“使用新词的庞大机器和杜撰新词的巨大工厂”。这些特点会给读者带来理解上的困难。为了帮助读者克服这些困难，本书把新闻英语特色分成若干细目，结合每篇课文，逐一进行介绍。

IV. 问题思考

1. What rights and benefits do the people on those islands enjoy according to the article?
2. What difference exists between the US Virgin Islands and America in traffic?
3. What kind of economy brings the Virgin Islands the greatest benefit?
4. Of the island colonies, which one is the least assimilated?
5. Which the place is where America's day begins?
6. Give a brief account of the colonial history of the Northern Marianas.
7. To whom are the Northern Marianas more familiar, Americans or Japanese? Why?
8. What additional political rights do the people in the District of Columbia have?

The Wild West's Legacy of Shame^①

THE LEGENDS of the Wild West still color many people's impression of the United States of America. ^② Unfortunately, the romanticized Hollywood cowboys and Indians^③ have given a distorted picture of what really happened.

Certainly, America's western expansion was in many ways an epic of courage and endurance. Dogged pioneers opened up new territory and forged a nation from the wilderness. This is the stuff of legends. ^④ But there was a dark side to this story. For the Indians it was a sad, bitter tale of misunderstanding, greed and betrayal — and we should know that too.

Before 1990 fades from memory, let's pause to remember December 29 as the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Wounded Knee. ^⑤ This "battle" (it was more of a massacre^⑥) marked the completion of the conquest of the North American Indians by the United States government.

Not Enough Indians

In the early days of settlement along the Atlantic shore the colonists and the Indians got along together. Their ways of life were different, but there was room for both.

The Indians were not unorganized hostile savages. The various tribes were often confederations or nations, and at first, the new settlers treated them as independent powers. But as European settlement gathered momentum, mistrust began to build. ^⑦

It was not long before the newcomers outnumbered the native peoples (it has been estimated there were only about a million Amerindians in the continent north of what is now Mexico).

In the struggle between the French and the British for control of North America (1689—1763), and in the later Revolutionary War^⑧ (1776—1787) between the British and the Colonists, the Europeans tried to win the support of the Indians.

They became pawns in the white man's struggle to control North America. Those who found themselves on the losing side suffered reprisals by the victors.

By the end of the 18th century, the independence of the United States was established, and George Washington^⑨ admonished Congress: "We are more enlightened and more powerful than the Indian nations. It behooves our honor to treat them with kindness and even generosity. ^⑩"

But that's not what happened. Might became right^⑪, and from the beginning of nationhood of the United States, the native people were exploited, forced from their homelands by the relentless European expansion — usually after signing agreements and treaties they did not really understand.

The white man's concept of land ownership was alien to the Indians. They thought they had agreed to share, only to find that they had signed away the rights to live in their tradi-

tional territory.

Eventually, the government decided it would be in everyone's best interest for the two peoples to live apart. The Indian Removal Act[®] of 1830 gave the president power to relocate all the Eastern Indian tribes west of the Mississippi, on land the new Americans thought they would not need.

None were to be exempted — even those tribes who had made an effort to learn the white man's ways were forced to move. The Cherokees, for example, were settled farmers, had developed an alphabet, and even published a newspaper in their own language.

But the Cherokees, along with the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles, were rounded up and herded off to "Indian Territory."[®] One in four Cherokees died during the forced winter migration[®] along what became known as the "Trail of Tears."

Broken Promises

Under the agreement, land to the west of the Mississippi was to be the Indians' homeland for "as long as the grasses grow, and the waters flow." Or rather, until the restless young nation wanted the land for itself.

Even before the treaties were ratified, the "permanent Indian frontier" was moved farther west. Over the course of decades, agreements were renegotiated, broken, amended, reratified and broken again.

The dispossessed eastern tribes, pushed farther and farther west into the Great Plains[®] region, became refugees in the territory of the still free and culturally different Indian nations of the Plains.

The Plains tribes were the quintessential storybook Indians — proud, fierce, magnificent horsemen, skillful hunters and fearless warriors. For centuries they roamed the magnificent wilderness that was to become Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana and the Dakotas.

Romanticized history has portrayed them as noble savages who blocked the path of the bold pioneers.[®]

Not really. The Plains Indians also tried to accommodate the relentless encroachment on their hunting grounds. As the white man pushed ever westward, fencing the land and decimating the buffalo herds, the Indian nations struggled to hold on to their way of life.

They signed treaties, they tried to move out of the way. When cornered they fought back, bitterly and desperately, until, exhausted and discouraged, they would accept the terms of yet another fragile treaty, soon broken.

The Indian wars were an ugly episode in the history of the United States. Both sides fought grimly, usually mercilessly. They plundered, tortured and slaughtered; often the victims were unarmed women and children.

The conquest of the West, usually portrayed as a valiant struggle, was in reality a cruel, particularly vicious war. Indian braves[®] were not always the noble warriors of legend, and the U. S. cavalry often acted out of ruthlessness rather than courage and chivalry.

Unfortunately Hollywood Westerns[®] have made heroes out of some rather bloodthirsty characters. The real heroes were those voices of reason on both sides who tried to stop the bloodshed.

The way of life of the two peoples, however, had become so different, and the feelings